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War leadership, the other important aspect of Klamath chieftainship, likewise shows Plains linkage although the relationship is probably quite indirect or largely categorical. In the southeastern Plateau, however, the war function is at least equally emphasized, in this case more directly reflecting Plains influence. Among the Umatilla, Cayuse, Nez Percé, and Flathead, certain chiefs are recognized exclusively as war leaders and these hold their positions whether war is actually in progress or not. The whole relationship between war chiefs and peace-time or political chiefs is very much confused. However, in at least some instances the political chief leads the war party, either individually or in company with the war chief. Of major importance is the insistence of informants that the war chief is not just any accomplished warrior, but a definitely recognized individual with a publicly approved record of coups. It is highly probable that the war chief is also political head of the tribe, but that the chief of a village is a political officer without war functions.

Among the Canadian Plateau Salish and the Chilcotin, war leadership and chieftainship are quite divorced. The war leader is merely an accomplished warrior selected for the occasion. If the political chief should qualify he is quite eligible to the position, but this is rather seldom the case. The political chief wields greater power here than to the south. His word carries great weight in council and the average person seldom questions an edict of the chief. On the other hand, the chief does not often act on important matters without consulting the council.

The Carrier chief enjoys power superior even to this. Those who oppose him may be threatened with slavery, though such a threat is seldom carried out.

The chief's spokesman, mentioned above, is characteristic of the south and central Plateau, save the Klamath.[21] In Canada the Lillooet have this officer, but in other groups he is lacking. The Lillooet speaker may be a direct borrowing from the Coast, rather than from the American Plateau. Among the Kutenai and Flathead the herald takes the place of the spokesman, as might be anticipated adjacent to the Plains. The spokesman and herald should not be contrasted too greatly; their functions definitely overlap. Both carry the words of the chief to the people, but sometimes in quite different fashion. The spokesman is essentially a repeater; he stands beside the chief and relays the words

[21] Spier, *loc. cit.*, cf. *op. cit.*, pp. 312 f.

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of the latter with quite literal accuracy. Often the chief speaks in a voice hardly above a whisper, while the speaker is expected to make himself heard by all, and to provide proper emphasis to what is being said. The herald, on the other hand, is largely a messenger who shouts out the orders and advice of the chief as he rides about the village or camp. He is not held to a literal presentation of the chief's words, but is expected to express the general thought freely and effectively.

In parts of the Plateau the spokesman performs the duties of the typical herald in addition to serving as a repeater. This is true among the Tenino, Umatilla, Nez Percé,[23] Coeur d'Alêne, Kalispel, Southern Okanogan, and Sanpoil. Among the last two, at least, formal haranguing is a performance of the spokesman-herald in his own right.

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Women occupy seats in council or assembly among a number of central Plateau groups, and in some cases they are eligible to chieftainship. Female chiefs are known to the Southern Okanogan, Lakes, and possibly the Coeur d'Alêne. They may have been present in other groups, although most informants deny it today. The Lakes declare that no greater or more capable chief has even been known to them than a particular woman who held office fairly recently. It is quite clear that female chieftainship is here a simple outgrowth of the principle of political and sexual equality.[24]

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The Shuswap, Lower Thompson, and Carrier occasionally recognize female chiefs as well, but here the implications are quite different. A woman is accepted only for the sake of perpetuating a particular lineage in the absence of a male successor.[25] The coastal origin of this practice is obvious.

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Class and Rank

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Peoples of the Plateau have remained impressively unreceptive to the notions of caste which are so strongly emphasized on the Coast. The only tribes in any way influenced are those in direct contact along the boundary of the two areas. The Plateau attitude is not one of passive disregard; on the contrary, the opposite principle, that of equality of man, is given active and emotional support.

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The Sanpoil are among the most outspoken in this respect. To them

[23] Spinden, *Nez Percé Indians*, p. 243.
[24] Cline, *Southern Okanogon*, pp. 95 f.; Teit, *Salishan Tribes*, p. 154.
[25] Teit, *Shuswap*, p. 582; Morice, *Canadian Dénés*, p. 202.

3: Ray E-5 (1928-35) 1936 Plateau

into higher units, and where even a town is not conceived as an essential unit."[22] Discussing the Klamath of southern interior Oregon, Dr. Leslie Spier says that, "The identity of these [Klamath] groups resolves itself solely into aspects of group consciousness. There is no political mechanism within the group. When it comes to war with outsiders, each group can act for itself, others may join if they wish. At the other extreme, the towns are not sharply separated. A town is probably in large a body of relatives, although not so clearly so that towns are exogamous. In short, the tribelet is a body with a community of interest which hardly extends to the Klamath as a whole."[23] Speaking more generally, Dr. Spier observes that, "Political separation was carried to a high degree throughout the Pacific slope, the local communities being almost without exception autonomous, or at most grouped for common action within a quite restricted district."[24] Dr. Spier makes a similar statement with specific reference to the Wishram of the Columbia river Dalles.[25] Dr. Jacobs has informed me that all of the peoples of the mid-coast of Oregon likewise observed strict village autonomy.

East of the Columbia Basin in central Idaho somewhat different conditions prevailed. There is no question but that tribal organization was present among the Nez Perce since a tribal council whose decisions were binding upon all members of the group was coupled with an elective war chief of wide powers. Yet even here each village had its individual peace time chief with authority limited to his own village and during peace there was little relationship among villages.[26] Among the Cayuse and Umatilla west of the Nez Perce, and the Coeur d'Alene to the north, political organization was somewhat similar. Particularly noticeable was the recognition of tribal chiefs on the basis of war records and especial emphasis on tribal sol-

[22] A. L. Kroeber, "Handbook of the Indians of California," in *Bulletin, Bureau of American Ethnology* (Washington, 1925), LXXVII, 830.

[23] Leslie Spier, "Klamath Ethnography," in *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology* (Berkeley, 1930), XXX, 22.

[24] *Ibid.*, 309.

[25] Spier, "Wishram Ethnography," 160.

[26] Herbert J. Spinden, "The Nez Percé Indians," in *Memoir, American Anthropological Association* (Lancaster, Pa., 1908), II, 242-43.

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The coastal origin of these practices is obvious, since emphasis upon virtually identical shamanistic war functions is typical in that area, but does not reach farther inland than the Shuswap. The practices apparently reached the Shuswap via the Chilcotin, or more probably the Carrier. Among the latter, shamans perform similar functions, and furthermore, are the nominal leaders of a war party; two shamans serve as co-leaders. Shamanistic leadership is absent among the Thompson, hence it is improbable that the Fraser Valley was the route of diffusion.

The warrior-leader or "chief" among all Canadian interior Salish is merely any outstanding warrior, often the one initiating the enterprise. The duty of the political chief is to avoid war whenever possible; thus he can hardly serve as leader except in defensive activity.

Altogether it appears that warfare here must be conceived as the expanded raid which may occasionally flare into somewhat sustained group conflict. War parties are small and originate in the desire for personal gain, rather than group interest. Teit mentions plunder, adventure, and revenge as effective factors, never band or tribal aggression, honor, or defense. He states that "war parties" may consist of as few as five or six individuals; obviously raiding parties, rather, and small ones at that. But the maximum of several hundred does not change the general complexion of the affair greatly. The large group breaks up into small units, each bent upon marauding activity similar to that of the small raid. Movements are stealthy and under cover; fighting in the open with massed forces is infrequent or unknown.

Furthermore, intra-tribal warfare is common.

> The Thompson Indians fought among themselves as well as against other tribes, as evidenced by blood feuds between different families. The most trivial quarrels and insults often ended in bloodshed. No man went unarmed, and he was always ready to shoot, or guard against being shot.[88]

Warfare among the Athabascan tribes, particularly the Sekani, belongs to quite a different tradition. Here it is the expanded feud, or extended feud, that constitutes the bulk of the warfare. This is true even of intertribal warfare although most of their conflicts are of an internal nature. The ordinary small scale feud is the commonest type of conflict. This may be carried on for a considerable period. Where fighting takes place with a non-Athabascan group, it is the particular

[88] Teit, *Thompson Indians*, p. 270.

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idarity under a single war chief during periods of hostility. Proceeding from the Umatilla to the Yakima and Wanapam and thence to the Columbia a gradual diminution in tribal emphasis is observed, with complete disappearance for some distance beyond that point. Illuminating is the former Yakima feeling of responsibility for the safety of any member of another group while he remained within Yakima territory. When the visitor was ready to leave he was given safe convoy to the Yakima boundary, Satus Pass, for example, beyond which he was upon his own responsibility. Also, scouts were stationed at many strategic points, in the interests of the group as a whole. The cementing effect of frequent warfare was to be seen in the organization of the Columbia[27] although this appears to have been a condition of no great age. The northernmost group of the Columbia Basin, the Lakes, exhibited quite a different type of political unity. A marked feeling of solidarity seems to have grown out of the uniqueness of their habitat. They occupied a series of interconnecting lakes and rivers over which they travelled in circuits,[28] making for a maximum of social intercourse and demanding considerable cooperation. Moreover, they were effectively shut off from adjacent groups on the west and north by high mountain ranges. Though conditions of this nature do not in themselves produce political unity, as Dr. Kroeber has pointed out,[29] yet they may prove significant factors in such a development. Among the Lakes this development appears to have occurred.

It is not argued here that village autonomy indicates the absence of any significant unit of larger compass than the village. The essential point is that under these circumstances the larger unit was ethnic or social in nature. Such a group often lacked even so much as a name to describe it. Thus the names Nespelem and Kittitas, for example, which we apply to ethnic groups, are derived from the political names of single villages;[30] in native use they had no such wide application. At other times

[27] Teit, "Middle Columbia Salish," 126.
[28] See map, fig. 2.
[29] Kroeber, 14.
[30] See Nespelem village no. 2, Kittitas no. 2.

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strong timbers fixed in crevices of the rocks, and above this is a frame so attached that the salmon in attempting to leap the fall strike the sticks of the frame and are thrown back into the basket, in the largest of which naked men armed with clubs await them. Five thousand pounds of salmon have thus been taken in a day by means of a single basket. During the fishing-season the Salmon Chief has full authority; his basket is the largest, and must be located a mouth before others are allowed to fish. The small nets used in the same region have also the peculiarity of a stick which keeps the mouth open when the net is empty, but is removed by the weight of the fish. Besides the salmon, sturgeon are extensively taken in the Fraser, and in the Arrow Lakes, while trout and other varieties of small fish abound in most of the streams. The fishing-season is the summer, between June and September, varying a month or more according to locality. This is also the season of trade and festivity, when tribes from all directions assemble to exchange commodities, gamble, dance, and in later times to drink and fight.[162]

[162] Natives begin to assemble at Kettle Falls about three weeks before the salmon begin to run; feuds are laid by; horse-racing, gambling, love-making, etc., occupy the assembly; and the medicine-men are busy working charms for a successful season. The fish are cut open, dried on poles over a small fire, and packed in bales. On the Fraser each family or village fishes for itself; near the mouth large gaff-hooks are used, higher up a net managed between two canoes. All the principal Indian fishing-stations on the Fraser are below Fort Hope. For sturgeon a spear seventy to eighty feet long is used. Cut of sturgeon-fishing. *Lord's Nat.*, vol. i., pp. 71–6, 181, 184–6. The Pend d'Oreilles 'annually construct a fence which reaches across the stream, and guides the fish into a weir or rack,' on Clarke River, just above the lake. The Walla Walla 'fisheries at the Dalles and the falls, ten miles above, are the finest on the river.' The Yakima weirs constructed 'upon horizontal spars, and supported by tripods of strong poles erected at short distances apart; two of the logs fronting up stream, and one supporting them below;' some fifty or sixty yards long. The salmon of the Okanagan were 'of a small species, which had assumed a uniform red color.' 'The fishery at the Kettle Falls is one of the most important on the river, and the arrangements of the Indians in the shape of drying-scaffolds and store-houses are on a corresponding scale.' *Ind. Aff. Rep.*, 1854, pp. 214, 223, 231, 236; *Gibbs*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. i., pp. 407–8. The salmon chief at Kettle Falls distributes the fish among the people, every one, even the smallest child, getting an equal share. *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 311–14. On Des Chutes River 'they spear the fish with barbed iron points, fitted loosely by sockets to the ends of poles about eight feet long,' to which they are fastened by a thong about twelve feet long. *Abbott*, in *Pac. R. R. Rept.*, vol. vi., p. 90. On the upper Columbia an Indian 'cut off a bit of his leathern shirt, about the size of a small bean;

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led war-horses are selected, and both rider and steed are gaily painted, and decked with feathers, trinkets, and bright-colored cloths. The war-party in most nations is under the command of a chief periodically elected by the tribe, who has no authority whatever in peace, but who keeps his soldiers in the strictest discipline in time of war. Stealthy approach and an unexpected attack in the early morning constitute their favorite tactics. They rush on the enemy like a whirlwind, with terrific yells, discharge their guns or arrows, and retire to prepare for another attack. The number slain is rarely large; the fall of a few men, or the loss of a chief decides the victory. When a man falls, a rush is made for his scalp, which is defended by his party, and a fierce hand-to-hand conflict ensues, generally terminating the battle. After the fight, or before it when either party lacks confidence in the result, a peace is made by smoking the pipe, with the most solemn protestations of good-will, and promises which neither party has the slightest intention of fulfilling. The dead having been scalped, and prisoners bound and taken up behind the victors, the party starts homeward. Torture of the prisoners, chiefly perpetrated by the women, follows the arrival. By the Flatheads and northern nations captives are generally killed by their sufferings; among the Sahaptins some survive and are made slaves. In the Flathead torture of the Blackfeet are practiced all the fiendish acts of cruelty that native cunning can devise, all of which are borne with the traditional stoicism and taunts of the North American Indian. The Nez Percé system is a little less cruel in order to save life for future slavery. Day after day, at a stated hour, the captives are brought out and made to hold the scalps of their dead friends aloft on poles while the scalp-dance is performed about them, the female participators meanwhile exerting all their devilish ingenuity in tormenting their victims.[170]

[170] Torture of Blackfeet prisoners; burning with a red-hot gun-barrel, pulling out the nails, taking off fingers, scooping out the eyes, scalping, revolting cruelties to female captives. The disputed right of the Flatheads to hunt buffalo at the eastern foot of the mountains is the cause of the long-continued hostility.

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sions, and that they are guided at night by the polar star.[m] 487

War chiefs are elected for their bravery and past success, having full authority in all expeditions, marching at the head of their forces, and, especially among the Flatheads, maintaining the strictest discipline, even to the extent of inflicting flagellation on insubordinates. With the war their power ceases, yet they make no effort by partiality during office to insure re-election, and submit without complaint to a successor. Except by the war chiefs no real authority is exercised. The regular chieftainship is hereditary so far as any system is observed, but chiefs who have raised themselves to their position by their merits are mentioned among nearly all the nations. The leaders are always men of commanding influence and often of great intelligence. They take the lead in haranguing at the councils of wise men, which meet to smoke and deliberate on matters of public moment. These councils decide the amount of fine necessary to atone for murder, theft, and the few crimes known to the native code; a fine, the chief's reprimand, and rarely flogging, probably not of native origin, are the only punishments; and the criminal seldom attempts to escape. As the more warlike nations have especial chiefs with real power in time of war, so the fishing tribes, some of them, grant great authority to a 'salmon chief' during the fishing-season. But the regular inland

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[m] In calculating time the Okanagans use their fingers, each finger standing for ten; some will reckon to a thousand with tolerable accuracy, but most can scarcely count to twenty. *Ross' Adven.*, p. 324. The Flatheads 'font néanmoins avec précision, sur des écorces d'arbres ou sur des peaux le plan, des pays qu'ils ont parcourus, marquant les distances par journées, demi-journées ou quarts de journées.' *De Smet, Voy.*, p. 205. Count years by snows, months by moons, and days by sleeps. Have names for each number up to ten; then add ten to each; and then add a word to multiply by ten. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 242. Names of the months in the Pisquouse and Salish languages beginning with January;—'cold, a certain herb, snow-gone, bitter-root, going to root-ground, camass-root, hot, gathering berries, exhausted salmon, dry, house-building, snow.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., p. 211. 'Menses computant lunis, exspkanî, sol vel *luna* et dies per ferias. Hebdomadam unicam per splchákat, *septem dies*, plures vero hebdomadas per s'chaxéus, id est, *vexillum* quod a duce maximo qualibet die dominica suspendebatur. Dies autem in novem dividitur partes.' *Mengarini, Grammatica Linguae Selicae*, p. 120; *Sproat's Scenes*, p. 270; *Lewis and Clarke's Trav.*, p. 374.

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622 chiefs never collect taxes nor presume to interfere with
624 the rights or actions of individuals or families.[176] Pris-
727 oners of war, not killed by torture, are made slaves, but
567 they are few in number, and their children are adopted into the victorious tribe. Hereditary slavery and the slave-trade are unknown. The Shushwaps are said to have no slaves.[177]

58 In choosing a helpmate, or helpmates, for his bed and board, the inland native makes capacity for work the standard of female excellence, and having made a selection buys a wife from her parents by the payment of an amount of property, generally horses, which among the southern nations must be equaled by the girl's parents. Often a betrothal is made by parents while both

622 [176] The twelve Oakinack tribes 'form, as it were, so many states belonging
624 to the same union, and are governed by petty chiefs.' The chieftainship
681 descends from father to son; and though merely nominal in authority, the chief is rarely disobeyed. Property pays for all crimes. *Ross' Advent.*, pp. 289–94, 322–3, 327. The Chualpays are governed by the 'chief of the earth' and 'chief of the waters,' the latter having exclusive authority in the fishing-season. *Kane's Wand.*, pp. 308–13. The Nez Percés offered a Flathead the position of head chief, through admiration of his qualities. *De Smet, Voy.*, pp. 50, 171. Among the Kalispels the chief appoints his successor, or if he fails to do so, one is elected. *De Smet, Western Miss.*, p. 297. The Flathead war chief carries a long whip, decorated with scalps and feathers to enforce strict discipline. The principal chief is hereditary. *Cox's Advent.*, vol. i., pp. 241–2, vol. ii., p. 88. The 'camp chief' of the Flatheads as well as the war chief was chosen for his merits. *Ind. Life*, pp. 28–9. Among the Nez Percés and Wascos 'the form of government is patriarchal. They acknowledge the hereditary principle—blood generally decides who shall be the chief.' *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., pp. 652–4. No regularly recognized chief among the Spokanes, but an intelligent and rich man often controls the tribe by his influence. *Wilkes' Nar.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. iv., pp. 475–6. 'The Salish can hardly be said to have any regular form of government.' *Hale's Ethnog.*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. vi., pp. 207–8. Every winter the Cayuses go down to the Dalles to hold a council over the Chinooks 'to ascertain their misdemeanors and punish them therefor by whipping'! *Farnham's Trav.*, p. 81–2. Among the Salish 'criminals are sometimes punished by banishment from their tribe.' 'Fraternal union and the obedience to the chiefs are truly admirable.' *Domenech's Deserts*, vol. ii., pp. 342–4; *Hines' Voy.*, p. 157; *Stanley's Portraits*, p. 63; *Dunn's Oregon*, pp. 311–12; *White's Oregon*, p. 189; *Pickering's Races*, in *U. S. Ex. Ex.*, vol. ix., p. 106; *Joset*, in *Nouvelles Annales des Voy.*, tom. cxviii, 1849, pp. 334–40.

[177] 'Slavery is common with all the tribes.' *Warre and Vavasour*, in *Martin's Hud. B.*, p. 83. Sahaptins always make slaves of prisoners of war. The Cayuses have many. *Alvord*, in *Schoolcraft's Arch.*, vol. v., p. 654; *Palmer's Jour.*, p. 56. Among the Okanagans 'there are but few slaves.... and these few are adopted as children, and treated in all respects as members of the family.' *Ross' Advent.*, p. 330. The inland tribes formerly practiced slavery, but long since abolished it. *Parker's Explor. Tour*, p. 247. 'Not practised in the interior.' *Mayne's B. C.*, p. 243. Not practiced by the Shushwaps. *Anderson*, in *Hist. Mag.*, vol. vii., p. 78.